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ABSTRACT

The use of promotional films by the Hampton (Virginia) Normal and Agricultural Institute between 1900 and 1917 is examined in this paper. The paper first traces the problems faced by Hampton and other private southern black schools during the early twentieth century and describes Hampton's extensive promotional efforts designed both to improve race relations and to raise funds. It then discusses the following topics: (1) vehicles other than film used by Hampton in its early promotional campaigns, (2) Hampton's financial commitment to its campaigns, (3) Hampton's decision to produce its own films, and (4) the type of early films produced by the Institute and their place in its campaigns. It describes several films in detail and relates how one film was used as an epilogue to D. W. Griffith's controversial film "The Birth of a Nation" to stress black progress since Reconstruction. The paper concludes that the Hampton campaigns helped the Institute move toward accomplishing its goals, although the addition of the Hampton film to "The Birth of a Nation" generated a large amount of negative comment, and that Hampton contributed significantly to the evolution of public relations practices in education. The paper includes an analysis of the effectiveness of case study methodology in research into public relations history. (GT)

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Using Sponsored Films To Tell The Story: A Contribution of The Hampton Institute to the Evolution of Public Relations Practice in Higher Education, 1900-1917

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The beginning of public relations in America's institutions of higher education has been traced to the late 19th and early 20th century when a small number of educators realized the importance of using systematic publicity campaigns to recruit students, to raise funds, and more generally, to communicate the benefits of higher education to their publics.[1] Universities frequently credited with being public relations pioneers include Wisconsin, Michigan, Harvard, and Pennsylvania.[2] While the importance of these schools in public relations history should not be denied, their efforts do not constitute a complete picture of the contributions made by educational institutions to the evolution of public relations during the profession's seedbed years.[3] During the time period 1900-1917, significant strides toward the professional practice of public relations were being made by a number of southern black institutions. However, the contributions of these schools to public relations history remain largely undocumented.[4]

In 1915, 625 private black schools struggled for survival throughout the south.[5] To exist these institutions depended upon donations made primarily by white northerners. Thus, in part the development of promotional campaigns by southern schools stemmed from an objective in common with the northern universities: fund raising. However, to accomplish this objective the black schools had to battle an acute problem not faced as directly by the predominately white northern schools. That problem was racial prejudice. The extent of this prejudice is reflected in the judgment of several historians who have called the time period 1900-1920 the nadir of blacks in American thought and life.[6]

Further complicating the climate within which these black schools functioned was the split within the black community itself over what type of education would best prepare blacks to function on an equal basis with whites in American society and therefore deserved support.[7] A large number of the private southern black schools offered industrial rather than liberal arts curricula.[8] The educational philosophy of the industrial schools stressed self-improvement through the acquisition of a skilled occupation. The industrial schools believed that by becoming a skilled worker, an individual could better his/her financial position. Once economic status improved, intellectual development and equality would naturally follow.[9] However, a number of blacks thought that this was not the case and that rather than leading to equality, industrial education blocked the road. Particularly critical of industrial education was black leader W.E.B. DuBois who believed that industrial education reinforced racial prejudice by "...educating a servile

class for a servile place."[10] DuBois and others who shared his belief were convinced that the path to racial equality was through liberal arts education.

Therefore, to raise money, to recruit students, and to generate support for their particular educational philosophy as the solution to racial problems, the southern black schools had to design and implement promotional programs within a social climate laden with hostile attitudes. This added dimension sets the efforts of these schools apart from those of their northern neighbors and marks the black campaigns as particularly fertile territory for the study of public relations history.

Particularly assertive in its early strides toward the practice of public relations was the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia. Established in 1868 to educate former slaves who had taken refuge on the Virginia Peninsula, Hampton was the first black school to stress industrial rather than liberal arts education.[11] By the early 1900's, Hampton had defined for itself a two part mission: educating blacks and improving the position of blacks in American thought and life.[12] The importance of the latter purpose was emphasized by Hampton's second Principal Hollis B. Frissell who frequently repeated his belief that "the creation of a right public spirit among white people ..." toward blacks and their education was "as important ... if not more important ..." than was the actual education of blacks.[13]

To help create this "right spirit" and to raise money, Hampton engaged in extensive promotional efforts. Called campaign work by the Institute, the importance of this aspect of the Hampton mission

was further explained by Frissell in his 1915 Principal's Report. In part, Frissell wrote:

> The campaign of the past winter with songs, addresses, and moving pictures which extended through New York, New England, and Pennsylvania was one of the most successful in the school's history. While these campaigns have much more than covered expenses ... the school would not feel justified in spending so large a percentage of its funds for current expenses in the mere raising of money. But, when it is realized that Hampton is creating or strengthening with its northern campaigns a belief in the possibilities of related races and at the same time presenting to the thousands of discouraged men and women a solution for race problems, the expenditure seems more than justified. It is also to be remembered that Hampton thus created interest not for itself alone, but for the whole Negro race and that every other Negro school is helped by the pioneer work which Hampton performs.[14]

The central position of the second goal is underscored by the fact that the campaign work was overseen directly by Frissell rather than by someone lower in the administration. Thus, the development of the Hampton campaigns stemmed from a need in common with the northern schools: fund raising. However, Hampton's efforts went beyond fund raising into the more complicated arena of striving to influence attitudes to improve race relations.

As extensive and well organized as the Hampton campaign efforts were, they were not unique to the Institute. Under the leadership of Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington, the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, also developed comprehensive campaigns to both raise funds and to spread Washington's philosophy of improving race relations.[15] Because of the proven success of the Hampton/Tuskegee efforts and because of the stature of both institutions, many of the smaller black institutions patterned their fund raising efforts after the examples set by Hampton and Tuskegee.[16] However, one aspect

of the Hampton campaigns was unique to the Institute. That aspect was the consistent use of motion pictures produced by the Institute itself to carry the Hampton message during the time period 1912-1917.[17]

This paper has both a general and a specific purpose. The paper has been written first to present a general overview of the early Hampton campaigns and to suggest with this example that research into early promotional campaigns by black schools could add valuable chapters to the history of public relations in education. However, the Hampton campaigns were so extensive during the time period 1900-1917 that a more specific focus for this paper had to be chosen. Because filmmaking was a unique aspect of the Hampton campaigns, the Institute's early use of promotional films was chosen as this paper's specific focus. Therefore, the specific purpose of this research is to document the existence of those early promotional films and analyse their use by the Institute during the time period 1900-1917.

This study is of potential importance for several reasons. First, it will add to the body of study which already exists about the history of public relations in education.[18] Second, the study is also significant because it investigates an early use of sponsored films. Although the contemporary use of motion pictures in all forms to carry public relations messages is growing, very little has been written about the historical evolution of sponsored films in general and the use of public relations films by educational institutions in particular.[19] Thus, this study is of interest because if focuses on the interface of two significant topics in public relations history and therefore may offer some perspective on contemporary

public relations practice.

Traditional historical research methods were used for this study. Although Hampton did not actually begin to make its own films until 1912, the study covers the time period 1900-1917 because that time span coincides with the first time period of twentieth century public relations history as identified by scholars Scott Cutlip and Allen Center.[20] In addition, the year 1917 was chosen as the end point for the study because Hampton's moving picture records indicate that although the Institute was reasonably active in film production prior to the United States entrance into World War I, film production was suspended during the war.[21] Thus, a rather sharp break exists between the first period of silent film production at the Institute and the second which lasted from 1919-1933.[22]

The research was guided by several questions including: What media did Hampton use to carry its messages during the time period studied?; When did the Institute begin to produce promotional motion pictures?; Who produced the Hampton films? How were the Hampton films distributed?; Where were the Institute's films exhibited?; What type of financial commitment did Hampton make to its campaign efforts?; What was the thematic thrust of the Hampton films?; What audiences did Hampton seem to wish to reach with the films?; Were the films used separate from or as an integral part of Hampton's overall campaign efforts?; Did the Institute perceive its campaign efforts in general and its use of promotional films in particular to be successful during the time period studied?.

Although many different definitions of public relations exist, the working definition chosen for the purposes of this research was:

"...the planned effort to influence opinion through good character and responsible performance based upon mutually satisfactory two-way communication."[23] Activities designed to gather support for or endorsement of an idea or an organization were considered to be promotion.[24] Within the context of this research, a sponsored/promotional film is a moving picture conceived within and financed by an organization for a sales, training, or public relations purpose.[25] Rather than direct monetary gain, the promotional film is primarily intended to develop favorable ideas, motivations, attitudes, or reactions in the viewing public.[26] Because only descriptive accounts of the Hampton films rather than the films themselves seem to have survived, the study must be an overview of Hampton's role as filmmaker and the use made by Hampton of the films rather than an indepth analysis of the motion pictures themselves.[27]

Vehicles Used Other Than Film

In its early campaigns, Hampton empahsized the use of controlled media as vehicles to carry the Institute's messages. While the northern universities relied to some extent upon newspapers to spread their messages, Hampton felt it could not. In fact, Frissell was critical of the nation's newspapers and said that because the press dwelled "...upon the crimes of the Negro race, but not its progress" it was "incumbent upon schools like Hampton to help people realize that under proper conditions the Negro can be fitted for Christian citizenship."[28] Thus, Hampton used media other than newspapers in its early campaigns. For example, from its earliest years Hampton published a monthly journal. Titled The Southern Workman, Hampton described the magazine specifically as "dealing

with race relations."[29] Hampton also published pamphlets and books in support of its campaign efforts. For example, in 1877, Hampton had published Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung By The Hampton Students.[30] Although this book is basically a collection of lyrics and musical scores, a description of the Institute's educational programs, a plea for funds, and testimonials about Hampton's good works are included in the final pages. From 1873, Hampton used student singing groups to promote the Institute's work. These groups sang plantation and cabin songs during fund raising meetings. Their efforts were so successful that at least one scholar concluded that while students at Hampton "...fired their own bricks in their own kiln, the singers 'sang up' new buildings."[31] Many of the meetings at which the choir sang were organized by branches of the Institute's Armstrong Associations. Strategically located in major northern cities, the branches held meetings several times each year to win support for the school.[32] Posters produced at the Institute were used extensively to advertise those meetings as well as other choir appearances.[33] Occasionally, formal invitations were printed and distributed to selected individuals. These invitations usually carried a complete list of local patrons.[34] In 1893, the Hampton Student Camera Club was formed. The Club began almost immediately to create an extensive visual record of campus life.[35] Some of these photographs were used in campaign work.[36] In 1899, the Institute commissioned photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston to record life at the school.[37] Miss Johnston's photographs were displayed at the Paris Exposition in 1900 and in this way Hampton took its messages to an international audience.

In addition, Hampton recognized the importance of the pseudo event in calling attention to the Institute and its work. For example, Hampton developed elaborate Founder's Day and Anniversary celebrations. Organized with the help of the New York branch of the Armstrong Association, the celebrations' major events usually took place in New York rather than on the Hampton campus.[38] A speaker was secured to keynote the observations each year and the speech was supplemented by entertainment usually provided by the Hampton singers. Hampton also realized the potential value to the school of having well known people on its Board of Trustees.[39] For example, in 1909, Hampton elected President W.H. Taft to its Board of Trustees.[40] Taft accepted the position and throughout his administration he spoke frequently on behalf of the Institute.

The campaigns were organized on a regional basis with major northern cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston being early primary targets. However, in 1915, Hampton greatly expanded the campaigns and cultivated new regions, "the South, sections of the West and Northwest beyond the Mississippi, and the Pacific Coast."[41] In 1915, Frissell reported that speakers and the quartet had visited "every seaboard state of the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts" and that a record of 442 meetings were held in 1914-15.[42] Thus, by the early years of the 20th century, Hampton had defined promotional goals for itself and had implemented programs designed to accomplish these goals.

Hampton's Financial Commitment to Its Campaigns

Although the Hampton budget for the years studied did not break out specifically money designated for specific campaign

activities, Hampton did commit sizable portions of its budget for campaign work. The dual purpose of the campaigns is reflected in the Treasurer's Report because the section on campaign work is titled "Expenses soliciting funds and promoting interest in the Negro and Indian races and in their development throughout the country including salaries."[43] The dual purpose was also emphasized by Frissell who indicated that the amount of money spent on campaign work could not be justified "if the only object of these campaigns were (sic) the raising of funds for Hampton."[44]

In April 1913, the Hampton treasurer reported that during the preceding year Hampton had spent $31,474.00 of a total budget of $257,674.48, on promotional efforts.[45] The treasurer also called "attention to the fact that an increase of $19,000.00 in the budget figures for the current year" would probably be necessary.[46] Although not a $19,000 increase, the 1913-1914 budget did note an increase in money spent for promotional purposes. Specifically, Hampton spend $43,596.02 of its total $291,348 budget for "soliciting funds and promoting interest in the school including expenses and salaries connected with meetings in the North."[47] During the time period 1914-1915, Hampton once again increased the amount of money spent for campaign work. In this time period $47,775.84 of Hampton's $361,745.05 budget was spent on campaign work.[48] Thus, although it cannot be determined precisely how much money Hampton spent on any given aspect of its campaign efforts during the time period studied, it is evident that the Institute did devote sizable portions of its budget to campaign work.

Hampton Decides To Produce Its Own Films

By 1906, Hampton was showing films on campus as part of the Christmas entertainments.[49] Because Hampton apparently did not purchase its own projector until several years later, the early films and the projector were probably borrowed or rented. In December 1909, Hampton officials began discussing the advisability of having films of the Institute made to use as part of the campaign efforts. Since Booker T. Washington had promotional films made of Tuskegee in 1909, it seems likely that Hampton's discussions were prompted by Washington's action. Hampton referred the question of promotional films to a committee in mid-January 1910 and after investigation the committee reported that it had found the Tuskegee films to be "not altogether satisfactory."[50] After the committee's report, Hampton Vice-Principal George P. Phenix and Chaplin Herbert Turner were instructed to study the question further. In February 1910, Phenix and Turner reported that the cost of an Edison Moving Picture Machine was $160.[51] The actual cost of the projector was deferred and another committee established to continue the investigation.[52] The following October Hampton decided to buy the Edison projector and to "hire films as needed."[53] The projector was ordered November 19, 1910, and received in December.[54] The projector was installed in a projection booth in Cleveland Hall Chapel and for the next year Hampton was apparently content to hire films for occasional screenings.

In mid-December 1911, the question of whether the Institute should produce its own promotional motion pictures was discussed.[55] Apparently, determining the safety of film production was of primary

importance in Hampton's decision to make films. Committees were assigned to assess both fire risks and the "danger from electrocution."[56] After one committee reported that "American films noncombustible" and that no danger from electrocution existed, Hampton began to make specific plans about motion picture production.[57] On the creative side, Hampton staff member Cora Folsom announced that she planned to write a script which illustrated the progress of one student through Hampton. On the technical side, Vice Principal Phenix investigated cameras and the Institute's Director of Applied Arts Leigh Richmond Miner was instructed to study methods of taking and developing motion picture film.[58] After Hampton received price quotations from at least two companies, the matter was tabled for the summer.[59] When school reopened in the fall of 1912, the cost of the camera was approved and on October 5, 1912, "Miner commence to take pictures."[60] While Miner was shooting this early footage, the Institute continued to improve its motion picture projection facilities. For example, the student newspaper, the Hampton Student, reported that "the improvement to the booth of the moving picture machine in Cleveland Hall Chapel is being done by Joseph Barnes '14 tinsmith."[61]

The Early Films

Because the films actually produced by the Institute apparently have not survived, it is impossible to recreate the precise content of the Hampton motion pictures. However, from descriptive accounts written by individuals contemporary with the films, a portrait can be drawn of the type of films produced by the Institute and the place of those films in the Hampton campaigns.

John Henry At Hampton: The Kind of Student Who Makes Good was the first (and perhaps only) narrative fictional film produced by the Institute. Written by Cora Folsom, John Henry was a fictional recreation of one student's education at Hampton. The actual production on campus of John Henry began some time after Hampton students and staff were chosen for parts in the film on November 23, 1912.[62] The production apparently continued for several months because during the February 1, 1913, special meeting of the Hampton Trustees, Principal Frissell informed the Board that "a moving picture exhibit representing the life of a Hampton graduate before during and after his education at the school" was being prepared.[63]

The first public showing on campus of John Henry took place during the summer of 1913. Shortly thereafter, the following descriptive account of the film's story line appeared in the Hampton Student:

> In the first scene John Henry's school teacher, a Hampton graduate, visits him and his parents in their little cabin in the country and persuades them to send him to Hampton. John Henry, found plowing, willingly agrees although when the time comes he leaves his mother with evident regret. He is next seen arriving at Hampton Institute in an ox-cart and admiring its beautiful buildings. He is taken to his room where his roommate an 'old boy' gives him a lesson in bed-making. John Henry spends his work year on the farm, caring for the chickens and farm animals, and doing various other chores. He then enters the cabinet making department and learns that trade thoroughly in three years. Meanwhile, he learns something of several other trades, harness-making, shoemaking, bricklaying, and upholstery, in order to be useful when he goes back among his people. He is also seen assisting in the cooking and laundry departments, and helping the rug weavers. In his senior year, John Henry sits at the head of his table and represents his class in athletics, being seen in the track meet and in an exciting football game. His life on Sunday is shown in the Sunday morning room inspection and in the battlion drill before church. He also appears as a teacher at the Whittier School, leading the procession of children to

> their morning salute to the flag. He takes his part in the Anniversary procession and in the last picture, he is seen, such a change from the awkward country youth of the first picture, receiving his diploma from the hands of Dr. Frissell in the presence of his happy parents and teachers.[64]

The Student also reported that the "interested and appreciative audience" at the screening was of the "unanimous opinion" that the film would prove a great help in Northern campaign work that year.[65]

John Henry was used heavily by the Institute during the 1914 spring and summer campaigns. Posters in the Hampton archives indicate that John Henry was shown during at least eleven fund raising meetings in January and February 1914.[66] The posters describe the film as showing "the struggle of a black boy from cabin and corn field through Hampton" and indicate that the films would be accompanied by "the Hampton singers plantation melodies."[67] During this January/ February time period, John Henry was also shown on campus several times.[68] In March, Hampton received a letter from a young woman named Ruth Oates who reported having seen John Henry "in the South."[69] The Southern Workman reported that John Henry was shown during a May fund raising meeting in Norfolk, Va. Once again the film was accompanied by "plantation songs from the chorus."[70]

During the time that John Henry was being exhibited off campus, it seems likely that Hampton completed additional films. For example, when reviewing the films shown each Tuesday evening on campus during the summer, the Hampton Student reported that the "most interesting set of films...are the ones that illustrate student life at Hampton. The pictures show in detail the work that is being done in the trade departments, on the farm, in the classroom, and in the Domestic

Science Department. A general view of the grounds and buildings, the battalion during inspection, and while marching to dinner, a student's room, and the Whittier Training School are also shown on the films."[71] Also, the Hampton Moving Picture Records indicate that Dr. Turner took "2 or 3 rolls" of film on a western trip with him in early November 1913. However, specifically what films Turner took with him or precisely what he did with the film remains unclear.[72] That others knew of the Hampton films before John Henry became part of the Institute's normal campaign programs is evidenced by the fact that in October 1913, W.E.B. DuBois asked Hampton if he could show the Institute's films during an Emancipation Proclamation exercise.[73] Because of DuBois well known dislike of Hampton's educational philosophy, it seems more surprising that he asked for the Hampton films than that Hampton turned down his request.[74]

By October 1914, Miner reported that the camera he had been using was "unsatisfactory" and the matter of purchasing a new camera was referred to the Business Committee.[75] By agreeing that a new camera was needed and also by recommending that Hampton hire "an expert for a short time to coach Mr. Miner" the committee reaffirmed Hampton's commitment to filmmaking.[76] Miner suggested that Hampton purchase an Ernemar camera and have a manufacturer's representative stay on campus until a "satisfactory series" of film had been taken.[77]

Whether or not the Institute actually purchased the camera recommended by Miner is uncertain. However, in December 1914, the Hampton moving picture records indicate that Miner and another individual began taking pictures in the neighborhood "to show by these pictures the needs of people, means of meeting them, and results

through Hampton's work."[78] Hampton also reaffirmed its belief in the importance of its promotional films by deciding to show its films at the Institute's 1915 Anniversary celebration rather than having the traditional pageant.[79]

Miner's new film was completed and exhibited to the Hampton faculty and student body in late January 1915.[80] The film was then taken to Carnegie Hall, New York, and shown during the 1915 Annual Meeting of the New York branch of the Armstrong Association. When reporting about the meeting, the New York Age said that "a series of moving pictures were shown picturing the life of Hampton students giving scenes from the hopelessness of the old life, developing through Hampton's industrial learning to the joy of service."[81] The Age also noted that the films were "interpreted by plantation melodies sung by the quartet."[82] Two weeks later the Baltimore Afro-American Leader confirmed that the new Hampton film's included "scenes from the hopelessness of the old life through Hampton's industrial training to the joy of service interpreted by the songs of the Hampton singers."[83]

That either a second pring of this 1915 film existed or that this footage was not the only film possessed by Hampton at the time is evidenced by the fact that while one print of the 1915 film was being exhibited as part of the early 1915 campaign, a film at the Institute was being edited for exhibition at the Panama Exposition. The decision to show films as part of Hampton's display at the Panama Exposition in San Francisco was apparently made by the Institute's Business Committee which had been empowered by the Trustees in April 1914 to make the decision providing the exhibit did "... not incur an expense of more than one thousand dollars."[84] On February

6, 1915, the Business Committee decided that the films for the Exposition would be "confined to school and school work and cut down to 1 reel of 1000 ft."[85] This edited film was shown as part of the Hampton display in the Palace of Education and Social Economy at the Exposition during July and August 1915.[86] Apparently, Principal Frissell judged the display to be successful in reaching a new audience because he reported in his 48th Annual Report that the display "attracted many thousands."[87]

That the films Hampton circulated during this time period were in some cases multi-reel is confirmed by an article in the Hampton Student. In part, the article concerning a fund raising meeting said:

> The Hampton quartet and Mr. William T. Reid, the moving picture operator, came here on Saturday July 17. In the evening the Hampton pictures illustrating the work of the school were shown in Mr. Van Ingen's groove with the quartet singing during the changing of the reels. In spite of the slight rain there were many people in the out-of-door theatre to see the pictures and to hear the singing.[88]

In mid-March 1915, Major Robert R. Moton, Hampton Commandant, requested that a film be prepared of "school athletics and Academic class work for Negro audiences."[89] Whether this specific film was prepared is uncertain. However, Major Moton did speak during at least one 1915 fund-raising meeting during which Hampton films were shown. The announcement of the meeting indicated that motion pictures would be shown "with an accompaniment of songs by the Hampton singers" and that Major Moton would "briefly describe Hampton's work in the south."[90]

In addition to showing films on campus and at fund-raising meetings during 1915, Hampton allowed one of its films to be added as an epilogue to D. W. Griffith's controversial film The Birth of a Nation. Added by Hampton so that the large audiences attending The Birth of a Nation "might not go away with the impression that the Negro had made no progress in fifty years and was incapable of higher things," the epilogue contained scenes of the Hampton campus and Hampton students at work.[91] Although specifically which Hampton film was added to The Birth of a Nation is uncertain, the thematic thrust of the footage stressed black progress since Reconstruction. Chicago theatre manager J. J. McCarthy said the epilogue:

> ...gives a vivid impression of the progress of the race. It shows that in the last fifty years since the passing of the carpetbagger and his trail of evil influence over the colored people their wealth has increased from $17,000,000 to $300,000,000. It shows how Hampton Institute is making valuable citizens. It shows the agricultural advance of the race. It exhibits progressive types of colored men and women. In fact, it is a tribute to the qualities of the race and their capabilities for industrial and social progress.[92]

Five to six minutes in length, the epilogue also contained frames which said "These Pictures Are Presented By Permission of Dr. Frissell."[93] Although the Hampton epilogue was never made a permanent part of The Birth of a Nation, the footage was shown with The Birth in at least 10 cities during 1915.[94]

Throughout 1915 Miner continued to produce motion pictures. The Hampton moving picture records indicate that in November 1915, Miner made a film of the "results of Hampton's work" including footage of the Penn school.[95] The only motion picture script located in the Hampton Archives as recently as March 1980, does mention a sequence

featuring the Penn school. The script is titled "Education at Hampton" and bears the handwritten notation "Movies by R. L. Miner."[96] Although the script is undated and may be from a later period, its legends and picture notations are compatible with the descriptive accounts which remain of Hampton films made during this time period. The script, which seems to lack and ending, reads:

EDUCATION AT HAMPTON

Title - "Beauty and order in place of neglect and ugliness develop capabilities for good"

Pictures - Airplane view, waterfront, Administrative Building with dirigible, glimpse of southeast corner and front of Ogden Hall, coming out of church, Library, Kennedy Hall, Clark Hall. Going to the Poor House, Battalion marching by church.

Title - "Teaching has become a highly organized profession requiring continual study. Modern scientific methods have greatly improved practices in teaching. Summer School makes it possible for teachers to keep abreast of science."

Pictures - Practice teaching, Teachers at the Hampton Summer School. Celebrating Christmas, Whittier Lunch.

Title - We are all born with latent capabilities for good and for evil. Experiences in the formative period of school life largely determine whick shall predominate. True education develops the spirit of improving one's self for the sake of serving others.

Pictures - "Reading to Old Folks"
Principal's Bible Class
Singing at Poor House

Title - "Wide interest - many contacts make for education"

Pictures - Editing the Student, playing in the band, Girls' Glee Club, Students council

Title - "Play is a great educational force. It brings health of body and mind; strength of muscle and will."

Pictures - Girls Hockey, football, basketball.

Title - "Folk games and folk dances develop poise and graceful carriage."

Pictures - May Day girls dancing near Gym, the Brownie Dance, Folk games

Title Strength, determination and endurance come through such games as these.

Picture - The track meet.

Title "The wholesome joy of play"

Picture - Penn School Playground

Title Quick response of muscle to mind, self confidence and the ability to direct men in groups results from this drill

Picture - Military drill

Title "Science learned through the study of common things throws the light of understanding into everyday life."

Pictures - Chemistry laboratory (girls)
Girls cooking
Girls gardening
Agricultural students in laboratory testing soils
Agricultural students plowing
Barnwell in cabbage field at St. Helena

Title "The study of art applied to common things brings with it an appreciation of the beautiful resulting in the use of color and form in a happy relation to home and community

Pictures - Free hand drawing
Class in textiles - class in dressmaking
Planting at Whittier
Miss Kendall's class

Title Through our vocations we make our greatest contributions to the world.
An all around education gives us the will, the knowledge and the skill for a worthy part in the world's work.

Pictures - Trade school pictures
Agricultural pictures
Teacher training

Title "Teachers are responsible for the health of their children"
The school lunch and physical inspection have greatly improved the health of many children

Pictures - Penn School lunch
Weighing children and weight chart[97]

Throughout 1916 requests for Hampton films increased. In response to the "many calls for pictures," Hampton had sets of "travelling films" made and by October 25, 1916, Miner reported that he had three sets of films which could be loaned.[98] This reproduction of already made films seems to have been Hampton's major motion picture related activity during World War I. Although films are not mentioned specifically in his 49th Annual Report of the Principal, Frissell did say that "...the problem of keeping Hampton's work before the country in these exciting war times has been a difficult one."[99]

Hampton apparently resolved this difficult problem by de-emphasizing campaign work for the duration of World War I. Hampton films were occasionally shown during the war. For example, the New York Times reported that motion pictures "showing the life at Hampton and the influence of the school in the South" were shown in early February 1917 at the Annual Meeting of the Hampton Association of New York.[100] Tickets for the meeting indicated that the benefit would feature plantation melodies by the Hampton singers, Tenor Roland Hayes, an address by Dr. S.C. Mitchell, President of the University of Delaware, and motion pictures of Hampton life.[101]

Hampton also apparently supplied films "for YMCA educational work in France."[102] However, the Hampton moving picture records

indicate that no new films were produced by the Institute from 1917-May 1919.[103] The Institute's primary film producer, Miner, later explained that "photograph work was cut down during the war--hence nothing of great length has been made in motion pictures. Photographs in the nature of records and necessary illustrations have been made."[104] Thus, the first period of silent filmmaking at Hampton was brought to a close because of World War I.

Summary

Although the Hampton motion pictures themselves have not survived, descriptive accounts contemporary with the films indicate that the films presented a theme consistent with the Institute's overall missions. Although apparently to influence primarily white northerners, the films were also shown to black audiences. To both groups the moving pictures presented industrial education as the solution to the nation's racial problems. All of the Hampton films carried the message of black uplift through black self-help. The films contrasted the old "hopeless" life with the new hope given life by education.[105] The films also stressed that Hampton educated blacks would return to their home communities to share this hope and their knowledge with other blacks.

Although at least one of the films was a fictional recreation of one student's Hampton years, the remainder of the films seem to have been more documentary in nature. These films combined footage taken on campus with legends explaining the Institute's work. At least one of the films included shots of charts and graphs illustrating black accomplishments since Reconstruction. The motion pictures were distributed by the Institute itself which apparently had multiple

prints of more than one of its films. The Institute usually maintained total control over the manner in which the films were shown. Normally, the films were screened as part of a campaign meeting and accompanied by the Hampton choir. However, Hampton did occasionally loan its films to other gropus who wanted to show them. And, in an apparent effort to reach a wider audience, Hampton allowed one of its films to be shown as an epilogue to The Birth of a Nation.

Perceived Effectiveness

Although it is impossible to determine to what degree, if any, Hampton actually achieved its promotional goals, observations can be made concerning the manner in which the Institute and others perceived the success or failure of the Hampton campaigns during the time period studied. The Hampton records do not include extensive qualitative judgments made by Institute officials concerning the success or failure of the campaigns. However, Frissell said in his 1916 Principal's Report that the campaigns had "...made known the progress of the Negro race in all parts of the country. They have told the story of devoted lives of Hampton graduates and ex-students and have helped the two races to believe in one another."[106] Frissell also termed the campaigns as "successful" and reaching "hundreds of thousands,"[107] Frissell also indicated at least once that the campaigns were successful to some extent in terms of fund raising by saying that the 1914 campaigns had "much more than covered expenses."[108]

As evidence of the continuing belief in the importance of its campaign efforts, Hampton greatly expanded its efforts during the time period studied. In part to help support this growth, the

Institute committed sizable portions of its budgets for campaign work. For the years of film production, 1912-1916, Hampton increased significantly each year the amoung of money devoted to campaign efforts. Also, a series of decisions indicated the Institute's continuing belief in its production of promotional films. These decisions included the production of several news films each year from 1912-1916, the purchase of new equipment, the hiring of a consultant to help the Institute's film producer improve his skills, and the use of films at the school's traditional anniversary celebration and at the Panama Exposition. Overall, it appears that the Institute viewed with favor its campaign efforts for the time period 1900-1917.

Several sources external to the Institute reinforce the general conclusion that the Hampton campaigns helped the Institute move positively toward accomplishing its goals. For example, the Phelps-Stokes Fund national study of the status of black education during the time period 1913-1915 concluded that Hampton was "foremost" among black schools and that Hampton had:

> brought about a marked change in the prevalent opinion concerning the sort of education best adapted to the great majority of the colored people at the present time. It has strengthened faith in the land-grant schools for Negroes throughout the country; and besides this has magnified the general utility of industrial training. This has influenced the courses of instruction in most of the more important institutions and led to the starting of many new schools in the industrial plan.[109]

That others perceived Hampton's overall efforts to be successful is evidenced by the fact that many of the smaller schools patterned their campaign efforts after Hampton. In his recent study of the campaigns of smaller black industrial schools, historian Henry Enck indicated the crucial role Hampton played by example and by offering advice in the fund raising campaigns of these other schools.[110]

Although Hampton and others apparently judged the campaigns to be positive forces, at least one aspect of the Hampton campaigns met with an outpouring of negative response. That one aspect was the addition of the Hampton film to The Birth of a Nation. The decision to add the epilogue was heavily criticized by the leadership of the then young organization the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People including the organizations board chairman, Oswald Garrison Villard, the executive secretary, Mary Childs Nerney, and the director of publicity and research, W.E.B. DuBois.[111] A number of black newspapers editorialized against the use of Hampton's name in connection with The Birth of a Nation.[112] A number of individuals wrote to Frissell to protest this use of the Hampton films and at least one letter writing campaign was organized to seek the withdrawal of the epilogue.[113] Thus, at least one part of the Hampton campaign efforts for the time period studied generated a large amount of negative comment.

Conclusions

Within the Hampton campaign efforts were the seeds of several common contemporary public relations practices. For example, Hampton designed its campaigns to accomplish specific objectives. The objectives went beyond fund raising and into the more complex area of changing attitudes. The administration of the Institute considered the attainment of the objectives to be crucial and delegated the responsibility of their attainment to top management. The administration also budgeted significant amounts of money to help reach its campaign goals. The campaigns were specifically targeted and originally organized on a regional basis. The Institute used a

a variety of strategies to attain its objectives. Central to the strategies was the use of a variety of controlled media to carry the Institute's messages. The messages presented were consistent across media. The Institute was aware of the power of the pseudo-event in spreading its message and regularly staged celebrations to commerate dates of significance in the school's history. In addition, the Institute realized the importance of having prominent people speak on its behalf. During the time period studied, the Institute had at least two major opinion leaders speak for it. It is significant that one of these spokespersons was black, Booker T. Washington, and one was white, W.H. Taft. The Institute also practiced a form of bandwagon technique by including in certain publications lists of prominent people either in a given community or nationally who supported the Institute's work. Therefore, in its use of controlled media and the manner in which it orchestrated its campaign efforts the Institute was as advanced if not more advanced than the northern universities frequently documented as public relations pioneers. However, Hampton was not as advanced in its development of media relations. Although the Institute did receive coverage in the black press, it seemed almost hostile toward the white majority press and indicated that one of its goals was countering the negative images of blacks presented in the press.

Perhaps balancing this deficit in helping earn Hampton a place in the pages of the history of public relations in higher education was the Institute's use of promotional films. Hampton was not the first school to use promotional films. However, Hampton was one of the first and perhaps the first school to produce its own

promotional films on a consistent basis and weave those films into its overall promotional campaigns. In fact, Hampton seems to have produced more promotional films during the time period studied than did any other school and perhaps more than any organization other than the United States government. However, Hampton did make one use of a promotional film during this time which was probably not effective from a public relations point of view. That mistake was adding the Hampton film to The Birth of a Nation. Although the addition was consistent with the Hampton's overall philosophy of presenting positive images of blacks whenever possible, tagging these images to a film as prejudicial as The Birth was probably not wise. The epilogue was extremely short and no matter how practiced the Institute had become as a filmmaker, its filmic techniques were probably not as effective as those used by D.W. Griffith, The Birth's director. Indeed, the Hampton film reached a different audience than the Institute might have otherwise been able to reach, but it was probably not an audience particularly receptive to the Institute's message. In addition, the epilogue's additon to the film angered many Hampton supporters.

In spite of this one slip, Hampton's commitment to filmmaking represented an early, enlightened vision concerning the potential power of the then fledgling medium to serve as a vehicle for carrying promotional messages. Because of this vision and because of its overall promotional campaigns, Hampton contributed significantly to the evolution of public relations in education and deserves recognition for that pioneering contribution.

Discussion

Using traditional historical methods of data gathering and analysis, this research focuses on one aspect of an early twentieth century public relations program. In this this inquiry documents a precise subject, the research may be described as a case study. More precisely the research is an historical case study. The members of this session have been asked to discuss not only their research findings but also the validity of their methods. As a touchstone for this discussion we are using ideas presented in Judy Kulstad Van Slyke's paper "Defining Public Relations: Toward A Theory of Science."[114]

On initial glance, the prospect of doing this for one who has written an historical case study seems a gloomy one. Van Slyke has presented what I believe is a logical argument concerning public relations as an "immature and ineffective science" according to the model set forth by Jerome Ravetz.[115] Within this model the wide use of case study methodology is presented as one major clue that public relations is an immature science or within the actual context mentioned, a folk science. Underlying this criterion for determining an immature science seems to run a criticism of case study methodology. Indeed, Van Slyke interprets Ravetz by saying "this one situation at a time approach is a mark of folk science since there is no cumulative development of accepted results which are invariant under changes in the problems to which they are applied."[116] A call for alternative methodologies which contribute more directly to theory development and model building seems to be inherent in Van Slyke's paper. I applaud this call for the more systematic application of scientific rigor to public relations study and from this applause comes the potential gloom at the prospect of defending and explaining the validity of the historical case study within the current universe of public

relations scholarship.

The case study method does definitely have limitations. For example, the actual subject matter of this paper, the Hampton films, no longer exist. Therefore, rather than considering the primary documents themselves, the research must rely entirely upon testimony about the documents. The study cannot recreate the films nor the actual viewing experience. Further, the actual effectiveness of the films as one solution to the problems faced by Hampton cannot be determined. In short, like all case studies, this research should not be generalized from. Thus, based on this study alone, public relations practitioners at educational institutions should not be advised that they have the strength and proof of history behind them if they chose to use film as one vehicle for carrying their public relations messages. The temptation might be to conclude at this point that this study merely plows public relations further into that rather negative furrow marked folk science. However, a somewhat different interpretation of the Ravetz model can help validate both this research and the continued use of the case study method by public relations scholars.

Rather than a blanket condemnation of the weakness of the case study method, Ravetz model can be interpreted as a criticism of the use made of the gathered data. More specifically, when applying this model to public relations, Van Slyke says that public relations case studies "tend to examine what was effective in a given situation and make unverifiable assumptions as to values of particular courses of action taken by public relations practitioners and organizations involved." [117] From this it may be argued that the problem lies not with the method

but rather with the use made of the method. As Van Slyke's discussion indicates, a case study examines what was effective (or ineffective) in a given situation. If that examination was conducted in a systematic, objective, and methodologically sound manner, then the data gathered has some future potential for helping public relations mature as a science. However, to generalize from the very specific facts gathered in one limited case study is to exceed the limits of the methodology. Although one case study standing alone may not contribute significantly to theory development in public relations, groups of sound case studies may be useful in theory building/testing. For example, by using case survey methods, academic rigor may be applied to aggregate research and thereby lift the individual case study from isolation and propel the group considered into the realm of theory building.[113] Without the particulars already being there for secondary analysis, this type aggregation would be impossible. Perhaps then the inappropriate application and overuse of a given research method rather than the method itself should be considered one mark of a folk science.

Further, the Ravetz model indicates that facts generated through research must exist before a science can mature. To abandon case study methodology is to abandon one good way of amassing those facts. If we wish public relations to mature as a science, then we need to use all the tools available to us for gathering data. I would argue that before generalizations can be made, before theories and models are constructed and tested, a significant body of systematically collected data must exist. I do not believe that body yet exists in public relations in general and in public relations history in particular. For example, in public relations history we need more explora-

tory studies and more descriptive studies from which to build hypotheses. And, one way to gather this data is through the case study method. To be sure, these studies need to be approached and conducted within visible conceptual frameworks. The researcher who is busy systematically and painstakingly discovering and documenting particulars must always bear in mind that these particulars fit into broader contexts. Such studies should be guided by specific, explicitly stated research questions, include precise operational definitions, and follow clear, objective methods. Perhaps this is the same type research called for by James Grunig, but I am not sure.[119]

Therefore, I think that much groundwork must be done before we arrive at the point from which we can comfortably theory build in public relations history. I would argue that we are at least two steps away from that point. Scholars interested in public relations history should dig in and seriously till the rich fields of primary sources which exist in the area. From these studies and perhaps from the studies we already have, generalizations can be made and then theories and models constructed and tested. Although many may be impatient with this judgment, such impatience may be tempered by the potential of public relations history as a grounds for theory building research. Because the nature of public relations is to interface with other disciplines and concerns, the holistic approach to communication history championed by John Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia[120] can be applied very naturally to public relations history. For example, the research in this paper needs to be analysed within a number of general contexts including communication history, education history, and black history. The research also could be analysed within a number of more specific contexts such as film history,

public opinion history, and of course, public relations history. Thus, the Hampton films did not exist in a vacuum and as isolated occurences in time. The films existed as one product of a complex web of factors spun together in a given context. Some of these factors are farily straight forward. For example, for Hampton to produce films, the Institute had to have the hardware to do so. However, other factors are much more complex. For example, the Hampton films presented one solution to a problem which still seeks solutions. That problem is the attainment of equal status for blacks in American thought and life. Without these contexts, this research would stand truly isolated. Within them, the research has hope for a future. That hope perhaps lies more within the questions raised by the research rather than in the questions answered. I do not mean to underestimate what I believe to be the inherent validity of the research as it stands. For a variety of reasons, the events and people involved are important for their own sakes. However, I do not believe that this research will reach its full potential until it no longer stands alone, but is woven within the fabric of a comprehensive public relations history.

One potential strength of historical research is that is may give us bridges backward into time. Without these bridges we may be condemned to forever look at events on a case by case basis emphasizing unique outcomes rather than themes. However, as a research tool, the case study method is one way of providing us with access to the past. And, I believe that the ultimate importance of this access lies in the potential of public relations history as a resource for theory generation.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Scott Cutlip, "Advertising' Higher Education: The Early Years of College Public Relations, Part I," College and University Journal 10 (Fall 1970): 21-28 and Scott Cutlip, "Advertising' Higher Education: The Early Years of College Public Relations, Part II," College and University Journal 10 (January 1971): 25-33. See also Scott Cutlip and Allen Center, Effective Public Relations, 5th Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 65-94.

[2]Ibid.

[3]For the purposes of this research the profession's seedbed years refer to the time period 1900-1917. See Cutlip, "Advertising' Higher Education, Part I," p. 22 and Cutlip and Center, p. 75.

[4]For example, Cutlip does not mention these activities in his study of the birth of public relations in higher education. See "Advertising' Higher Education, Parts I and II." Likewise, standard public relations works which discuss the professions development do not mention these promotional activities. For example, see Cutlip and Center, pp. 65-94 and 550-573. See also, Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 63-98. In addition books about the practice of public relations in higher education do not discuss the programs of these schools. For example, see Steward Harral, Public Relations for Higher Education (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942); Sidney Kobre, Successful Public Relations for Colleges and Universities (New York: Hastings House, 1974); Clarence A. Schoenfeld, The University and Its Publics (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1954); and, Christopher Persons, Public Relations for Colleges and Universities (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Press, 1946).

[5]During the first two decades of this century, the black population of the United States numbered approximately 10,000,000. About 90% of this population lived either below the Mason-Dixon line or in border states. Although lack of educational opportunities was only one problem faced by blacks, it was a significant one. The illiteracy rate for blacks in the south and 10 years of age or older was 33.3% during these years compared with a white illiteracy rate of 7.7% for the same region. In addition, the public system of education in the south did little to overcome this problem. A double system of education existed with much less money being spent per black child than per white child. For example, throughout the region on a per capita basis, $10.32 was spend per white child compared with $2.89 per black child. Largely to overcome the deficiencies in public expenditures for black education, a system of private schools for blacks developed. By 1915, 747 black school existed in this country. Of these institutions 625 were private schools, 28 were state schools, 67 were local public high schools, and 27 were county training schools. A majority of these institutions were below the Mason-Dixon line with all of the private schools being in the south. All data taken from

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools For Colored People in the United States. Prepared in Co-Operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund Under the Direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, Vol. II 1916 Bulletin No. 39, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 1-11. For additional information on the status of black education during this time period see same title, Volume I, 1916 Bulletin No. 38 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916).

[6]John Hope Franklin, "The Two Worlds of Race: A Historical View," in The Negro American, ed. by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth Clark (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 56.

[7]For a more detailed discussion of the extent of the split see Henry Allen Bullock, History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

[8]For a more detailed description of the curricula see U.S. Department of the Interior, Negro Education, Vol. II, pp. 16-22.

[9]Founder of the first black school to stress industrial education, General Samuel Armstrong stressed that industrial education "...touches upon the whole range of life; that aims at the formation of good habits and sound principles; that considers the details of each day; that enjoins in respect to diet, suitable clothing, exercise, cleanliness of persons and quarters, and ventilation, also industry and thrift, and in respect to all things, intelligent practice and self-restraint." Armstrong's goal was to educate young men and women "who should go out and teach and lead their people first by example and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor but also for the sake of character." (See Negro Education, Vol. I, p. 81). It is interesting to note that a group of Indians joined the black Hampton student body in 1878 and that for the time period studied both blacks and Indians were enrolled at the Institute. (See Hampton Institute Undergraduate Catalog, 1976-1977 (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1976), pp. 8-10.

[10]W.E.B. DuBois to Professor Paul H. Hanus, 19 June 1916, copy of letter in W.E.B.DuBois file, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Archives, Huntington Memorial Library, Hampton, Virginia (hereafter referred to as Hampton Archives). See also, W.E.B. DuBois to Miss Davis, et.al., 27 June 1917, copy of letter in W.E.B. DuBois file, Hampton Archives.

[11]The Hampton Institute opened in April 1868. The school's first principal was Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a young army officier. Armstrong had been assigned by the U.S. government's Freedman's Bureau to help solve the problems faced by the many former slaves who had taken refuge on the Virginia Peninsula. Hampton was the first black school to successfully stress industrial education.

[12]Hollis B. Frissell, 46th Annual Report of the Principal

(Hampton: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1914), p. 11.

[13]Hollis B. Frissell, 47th Annual Report of the Principal (Hampton: Hampton Normal and Agricultrual Institute Press, 1915), p. 36.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Henry S. Enck, "Black Self-Helf in the Progressive Era: The Northern Campaigns of the Smaller Southern Black Industrial Schools," The Journal of Negro History 41 (January 1976); 73-87.

[16]For documentation concerning these campaigns see Bullock, A History of Negro Education; Enck, "Black Self-Help"; and Raymond D. Fosdick, Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board A Foundation Established by John D. Rockefellar (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

[17]It should be noted that Hampton was not the first black industrial school to use promotional films. Black film scholar Thomas Cripps has documented that Tuskegee circulated at least one promotional film, A Day At Tuskegee, which was "good enough to be screened in commercial theatres." (See Thomas Cripps, Slow Fade To Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900-1942 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 400 n.6). Cripps has traced Tuskegee's interest in promotional films to 1909 when Booker T. Washington hired filmmakers external to his school to produce the films. (See Cripps, Slow Fade, p. 61 and p. 72). In spite of the fact that Cripps does not mention Hampton's promotional films, his work does isolate a primary difference between the approaches Hampton and Tuskegee took toward filmaking. Hampton made its own films using Institute personnel and Institute owned equipment. Tuskegee had individuals external to the institution make the films. Thus, Hampton's use of motion picture technology was more complete than Tuskegee's and Hampton's production of motion pictures can profitably be studied independently of Tuskegee's film production. It is also interesting to note that Cripps is the only black film scholar to discuss the early black promotional films. Most historians of black involvement with the medium discuss only entertainment fillms. For example, see Donald Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies & Bucks (New York: Bantam Books, 1974); Daniel J. Leab, From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975) and, Richard Maynards, The Black Man on Film: Racial Stereotyping (Rochelle New Jersey: Hayden, 1974).

[18]The one such book which does mention briefly the history of motion pictures in educational public relations is W. Emerson Reck, Public Relations: A Program for Colleges and Universities (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946). Reck said that although

a number of colleges and universities were using motion pictures in their public relations programs "too many...have been filmed in a haphazard manner, then spliced together to make some semblance of a story evolved at a latter time." (See Reck, p. 266).

[19]Other than scholarly works which document the U.S. Government's early production of films to influence opinion and behavior, references to the history of sponsored films tend to be brief and scattered throughout several bodies of literature. (For an example of a history of U.S. government film production see Richard Dyer MacCann, The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures (New York: Hastings House, 1973). Understandably works concerning the theory and practice of public relations emphasize the place of films in public relations programs rather than the history of sponsored films. (See for example, Richard W. Darrow, Dan J. Forrestal, and Aubrey O. Cookman, The Darnell Public Relations Handbook (Chicago: The Darnell Corporation, 1967), pp. 316-323 and 505-601 and Doug Newsom and Alan Scott, This is PR: The Realities of Public Relations (Belmont, Calif.: Wadworth, 1976), p. 128). Those survey works which do discuss the history, include only brief references to early films (For example see Cutlip and Center, pp. 249-253 and H. Frazier Moore and Bertrand R. Canfield, Public Relations: Principles Cases and Problems, 7th ed (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1977), p. 219). Likewise, works dealing only with sponsored films take a similiar approach to the medium's development. (See Walter J. Klein, The Sponsored Film (New York: Hastings House, 1976), pp. 21-49; Stuart Little, "Sponsored Films Are Better Than Ever," Saturday Review, 12 September 1970, pp. 90-92, and Marlene Weber McGarry, "The PR Film Handout: Effective Tool or a Waste of Time?" Public Relations Journal 31 (August 1975). Works which discuss the historical use of films by educational institutions tend to stress educational films rather than promotional films. (For example see American Council on Educational Studies, Motion Picture Project, Series II, No. 1-9 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education) The American Council on Education established a Committee on Motion Pictures in the 1930's and charged the Committee to study the use of educational motion pictures. Although occasionally mentioned, public relations films produced by educational institutions are not the main focus of the study . See particularly, Floyde E. Brooker and E. Herrington, Students Make Motion Pictures: A Report on Film Production in the Denver Schools, Series II, No. 7 (Washington: American Council on Education, 1941). See also, Eleanor Child, "Making Motion Pictures in the School," English Journal (November 1939), pp. 706-712; Joseph Apple, "Amateur Motion Pictures--an Aid to Effective School Publicity," Educational Screen, (June 1929), p. 186; Edgar Dale, Fannie Dunn, Charles Hoban, and Etta Schneider, Motion Pictures in Education: A Summary of the Literature (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1937); Godfrey Elliot, Film and Education: A Symposium on the Role of the Film in the Field of Education (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948); Don Carlos Ellis and Laura Thornborough, Motion Pictures in Education: A Practical Handbook for Users of Visual Aids (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1923); Hardy Finch, "Film

Production in the Schools," Educational Screen (September 1938), pp. 216-218; and, William Wagner, "School Made Motion Pictures for Public Relations in Ohio," Educational Screen (January 1940), pp. 8-10).

[20]Cutlip and Center, p. 75.

[21]See Hampton Moving Picture Records, a Card File in Hampton Archives

[22]Ibid.

[23]Cutlip and Center, p. 16.

[24]Newsom and Scott, p. 6.

[25]See Klein, p. xii and Cutlip and Center, p. 249.

[26]Cutlip and Center, p. 249.

[27]As recently ar March 1980 no films had been discovered in the Hampton Archives. To further complicate the search for Hampton Films, prior to 1939 the Institute had copyrighted only one of its films. See Copyright Office, Library of Congress, Catalog of Entries Motion Pictures, 1912-1939 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951).

[28]Frissell, 47th Annual Report, p. 36.

[29]Negro Education, Vol. II, p. 69,

[30]Thomas P. Fenner, Arranger, Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung By the Hampton Students (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1877).

[31]The Hampton Album, with an introduction and a note on the photographer by Lincoln Kirstern (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966), p. 8.

[32]Enck, p. 80.

[33]A number of these posters may be found throughout the boxes of the Choir Collection, Hampton Archives.

[34]For example, see formal invitation dated 6 April 1915 in Christian Endeavour Society Correspondence Collection, Hampton Archives.

[35]Records of the Hampton Institute Camera Club, 1893-1926, document in Hampton Institute Archives. Thousands of photographs taken by club members and by members of the Hampton staff have survived in both print and glass plate form and are available in the Hampton Archives for viewing. See also, Nancy B. McGhee's article concerning the Camera Club in Stony The Road: Chapters in the History of the Hampton Institute, edited by Keith L. Schall (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977).

[36]For example, some of the photographs were used in the posters advertising the meetings. See Choir Collection, Hampton Archives. Others were used in early slide shows. Accompanied by commentary from a Hampton supporter, the slides were shown at some of the fund raising meetings. See "School Notes," Hampton Student 6 December 1915, p. 6.

[37]Hampton Album. Miss Johnston's photographs are housed in the Department of Photography of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

[38]Enck, p. 80. See Also Hampton Moving Picture Records, Hampton Archives. For a more detailed description of an individual celebration, see "Benefit Entertainment in New York," New York Times 10 February 1900, p. 8.

[39]For example, in 1909, Booker T. Washington spoke at the Founders Day Celebration (see "Founder's Day Celebrated," New York Times, 1 February 1909, p. 6) and William H. Taft addressed the 1915 Anniversary celebration (see "Anniversary Celebration: W.H. Taft Speaks," New York Times, 24 April 1915, p. 20).

[40]"Taft Elected to Hampton Trustee's Board," New York Times, 24 May 1909, p. 1.

[41]Hollis B. Firssell, 48th Annual Report of the Principal (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1916) p. 38.

[42]Ibid.

[43]46th Annual Report of the Treasurer--1914 (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1914), p. 10.

[44]Frissell, 47th Annual Report, p. 36.

[45]46th Annual Report of the Treasurer, p. 10.

[46]Minutes, 44th Annual Meeting of the Hampton Board of Trustees,

24 April 1913, Hampton Trustees Record, Vol. III, p. 117.

[47]46th Annual Report of the Treasurer, p. 10.

[48]47th Annual Report of the Treasurer--1915 (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1915), p. 10. In addition to filmmaking, the budget increase reflects the purchase of a boat for transporting the choir.

[49]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Initial Unnumbered Card, Hampton Archives.

[50]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 1, Hampton Archives.

[51]Ibid. The records also report that a series of pictures were "made free" in late April 1910. However, who made the film, what the film contained, and how or if the film was every used by Hampton is not indicated.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Cards 1 and 2, Hampton Archives.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid. Specifically what type of film Hampton found to be safe is uncertain. However, Eastman Kodak began research into the manufacture of a non-combustible motion picture film in 1906-1907 and by 1912 Kodak was supplying safety films. (See Glenn E. Matthews and Raife G. Tarkington, "Early History of Amateur Motion Pictures," in Raymond Fielding, et., al., A Technological History of Motion Pictures and Television (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 129,130, 131. See also, C.E. Kenneth Mees, "History of Professional Black-and White Motion Picture Film," in Fielding. By 1912, Edison was marketing a projector for "amateur" motion picture use which projected a cellulose acetate safety film 22 mm wide developed to a negative and printed. The film was supplied by Eastman Kodak. Edison advertised the projector, the Home Kinetoscope, as "approved by fire authorities" and "ideal for motion pictures for the Home, schools, YMCA, Clubs, etc." (See Tarkington, p. 132). Because Hampton had previously dealt with Edison and had apparently purchased the Institute's first projector from Edison and because the Institute was safety conscious, it seems likely that the Kodak films and the

Edison projector was the system adopted by Hampton. It is also interesting to note that George Eastman, Kodak head, donated $2,000,000 to the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund in 1925. Eastman promised the money if the Endowment Fund's original goal of $5,000,000 was reached by December 31, 1925. The goal was reached and Eastman donated his pledge. See "Negro Schools Win Eastman's $2,000,000," New York Times, 31 December 1925, p. 10.

[58]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 3.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61]"Trade School News," Hampton Student, 15 May 1913, p. 5.

[62]Hampton Moving Picture Record, Card 3.

[63]Minutes, Special Meeting of the Hampton Board of Trustees 1 February 1913, Hampton Trustees Record, Vol. III, p. 111, Vault, Office of the President, Hampton Institute Administration Building, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia (hereafter referred to as Hampton Vault).

[64]"John Henry's Four Years at Hampton," Hampton Student, 1 August 1913, p. 5. See also Cora M. Folsom, author, "John Henry At Hampton: The Kind of Student Who Makes Good," U.S. Copyright Office, Library of Congress, Catalog of Copyright Entries: Motion Pictures, 1912-1939, p. 430.

[65]"John Henry's Four Years At Hampton."

[66]Posters titled "The Hampton Singers Plantation Melodies Motion Pictures with Accompaniment of Songs: The Struggle of a Black Boy From Cabin and Corn Field Through Hampton," Choir Collection, Hampton Archives.

[67]Ibid.

[68]"Entertainments," Southern Workman, February 1914, p. 121. See also, Hampton Moving Picture Records, Cards 4 and 5.

[69]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 5.

[70]"Hampton Workers," Southern Workman, July 1914, p. 422.

[71]"Miscellaneous," Hampton Student, 15 July 1913, p. 4.

[72]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 4.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 6.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 7. The individual indicated in the records had the last name Bok. However, the individual's first name and his connection with the Institute or any other organization remain uncertain.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 8.

[81]"Hampton's Work A Needed Factor...Dr. Washington At Carnegie Tells of the Work Accomplished by Hampton," New York Age 11 February 1915, p. 1.

[82]Ibid.

[83]"Meeting Held in Aid of Hampton," Baltimore Afro-American Ledger, 20 February 1915, p. 2.

[84]Minutes, 45th Annual Meeting of the Hampton Board of Trustees, 23 April 1914, Hampton Trustees Record, Vol. III, p. 159 Hampton Vault.

[85]Hampton Moving Picture Record, Card 8.

[86]It is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that the Institute's records clearly indicate that a Hampton picture was shown at the exposition, other official records do not mention the Hampton film. However, these records to show that seven motion

picture theatres were in the Palace of Education, that overall "motion picture theatres assumed unprecedented importance at this exposition," and that motion picture attendance was large (see Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Education Exhibits at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, California 1916 Bulletin No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 8-9.) The records also indicate that the Hampton exhibit contained a number of effective charts and photographs which showed the "advance of the Negro in literacy, farm ownserhip, and standards of living." (Several of these illustrations are reproduced in the report. See Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Rural and Agricultrual Education at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1916 Bulletin No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 16). The report further described Hampton's exhibit as follows: "Hampton Institute was represented by furniture made in the school shops, in particular, a large substantial oak table, the practical vlaue of which was attested by actual use in the exhibit. The Hampton Jubilee Singers gave daily concerts at the Bureau of Education exhibit and also in one of the motion picture theatres in the Palace of Education during a period of several weeks thus bringing Hampton's work to the attention of many exposition visitors who might otherwise have not known of it. It was significant that many casual visitors who came to hear the Hampton singers remained to study the school exhibits." (See Education Exhibits, 1916 Bulletin No. 1, p. 19). Because the singers frequently accompanied the Hampton films it is possible that the concerts in the motion picture theatres also featured the films. Specifically why the Hampton films were not mentioned remains unclear. However, throughout both reports the only films which are discussed in any detail were those in the California exhibit. (See Education Exhibits, 1916 Bulletin No. 1, pp. 25-27).

[87]Frissell, 48th Annual Report of the Principal, p. 38.

[88]"News From Washington, Connecticut," Hampton Student, 15 August 1915, p. 6.

[89]Hampton Moving Picture Record, Card 8.

[90]Invitation stating "You and Your Friends Are Invited To Attend The Hampton Institute Entertainment To Be Held at the Y.W.C.A. Hall, Tuesday Evening, April 6, at 8:15 o'clock," Document in Christian Endeavour Society correspondence file, Hampton Archives.

[91]Secretary of Hollis B. Frissell to Ida Anderson, 25 January 1916, copy of letter in The Birth of a Nation file, Hampton Archives.

[92]"Questions Motive of City in Fight on 'Birth of Nation," Chicago Tribune, 8 June 1915, n.p. Clipping in The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives.

[93]See Francis Grimke, The Birth of a Nation (Washington, D.C.: Francis Grimke, 1915), p. 2.

[94]During 1915, the Hampton eiplogue was shown with The Birth of a Nation in Boston, Massachusetts; Norfolk, Virginia; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Jersey City, New Jersey; Atlantic City, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; New Haven, Connecticut; and, New York, New York. See "New Film Shows Negro Progress," Boston Morning Journal, 17 April 1915, p. 6; Wyndham R. Mayo, Affidavit in support of The Birth of a Nation, filed 6 April 1916, in Exhibit C, Epoch Production Corp. v. Riegel, in The Birth of a Nation Papers, Ohio State Historical Society Archives, Columbus, Ohio (Hereafter referred to as Ohio State Archives); C.J. Smith, Affidavit in Support of The Birth of a Nation, filed 20 January 1916, in Exhibit C, Epoch v. Riegel, The Birth of a Nation papers, Ohio State Archives; Walter InDear, Affidavit in support of The Birth of a Nation, filed 15 January 1916 in Exhibit C, Epoch v. Riegel, The Birth of a Nation Papers, Ohio State Archives and Elizabeth Freeman to H.B. Frissell, 19 January 1916, The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives; Grimke, The Birth of a Nation,pp. 1-2; and, "The Birth of a Nation," Christian Recorder, 19 August 1915, clipping in The Birth of a Nation file, Hampton Archives; "Questions Motive of City in Fight on 'Birth of Nation," Chicago Tribune and "Still Fighting ...For the Production of the Infamous Photoplay 'The Birth of a Nation," Cleveland Gazette, 12 June 1915, p. 3; Charlotte Abbey to Editor Philadelphia Ledger, reprinted in Christian Recorder, 26 August 1915, clipping in The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives and "In The Picture World," Philadelphia Inquirer, 21 September 1915, p. 6; Wm. N. Colson to H.B. Frissell, 27 October 1915, The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives; Mrs. E.L. Benton to H.B. Frissell, 9 December 1915, The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives and Mary J. Taylor to H.B. Frissell, 8 November 1915, The Birth of a Nation File, Hampton Archives; and, Cleveland G. Allen to H.B. Frissell, 18 May 1915, The Birth of a Nation file, Hampton Archives, respectively.

[95]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 8.

[96]"Education at Hampton," unpublished script in Records of the Hampton Institute Choir, Hampton Archives.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 10.

[99]Hollis B. Frissell, 49th Annual Report of the Principal, (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Press, 1917), p. 30.

[100]"Show Work at Hampton," New York Times, 2 February 1917, p. 11.

[101]Hampton Benefit Ticket, 1 February 1917, in Records of the Hampton Institute Choir, Hampton Archives.

[102]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Card 12.

[103]Hampton Moving Picture Records, Cards 10-12.

[104]Leigh R. Miner to Dr. James E. Gregg, 1 February 1919, letter in Records of the Hampton Institute Choir, Hampton Archives.

[105]The theme of moving from the old life to the new was the basic message of many of the Hampton visual campaigns. For example, see The Hampton Album, pp. 12-17.

[106]Frissell, 48th Annual Report, p. 38.

[107]Ibid.

[108]Frissell, 47th Annual Report, p. 36.

[109]Negro Education, Vol. I, p. 260.

[110]Enck, p. 80. However it is interesting to note that rather than helping blacks toward equality Enck believes that the Hampton campaigns "...helped perpetuate myths of the black 'place' in American life and to give added credence to the argument that blacks were, by nature, a happy, docile people who needed, if not wanted, a rigidly disciplined life within a segregated society. If white philanthropists predisposed to interpret such myths as facts took the next logical step, they would conclude that black 'children' were best suited for the half loaf of an industrial education. Only thus could they be useful to themselves and to twentieth century white society." Thus, although Enck apparently felt the Hampton campaigns were successful in terms of persuasion, he felt the campaigns persuaded the white philanthropists in the wrong direction.

[111]For example, see Oswald Garrison Villard to Alice P. Tapley, 29 November 1916, The Birth of a Nation file, Hampton Archives; Mary Childs Nerney to R. Granville Curry, 21 September 1915, NAACP Archives, File C300, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and, Cripps, Slow Fade to Black, p. 61.

[112]For example, see "The Birth of a Nation," Christian

Recorder 19 August 1915 and James W. Johnson, "Views and Reviews," New York Age, 6 May 1915, p. 4.

[113]The letter writing campaign was organized by black women's clubs. For examples of letters protesting the epilogue see Oswald Garrison Villard to H.B. Frissell, 29 November 1916, The Birth of a Nation file; Allen to Frissell; Colson to Frissell; Benton to Frissell; Mrs. Silone Anderson to H.B. Frissell, 6 December 1915; Margaret Fleetwood to H.B. Frissell, 11 January 1916; and, Madeleine W. Kountze to H.B. Frissell, 20 December 1915, all in The Birth of a Nation file, Hampton Archives.

[114]Judy Kulstad Van Slyke, Defining Public Relations: Toward a Theory of Science, unpublished paper presented to Public Relations Division, Association for Education in Journalism, August 1980.

[115]Jerome Ravetz as explained in Van Slyke, pp. 7-14.

[116]Van Slyke, p. 10.

[117]Ibid.

[118]For a complete explanation of this technique see William A. Lucas, The Case Survey Method: Aggregating Experience (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1974).

[119]Grunig as quoted by Van Slyke, p. 9.

[120]John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia, Communication History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).